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Non-Aligned Food-Agricultural Experts Meet In Pyongyang, Stress Self-Sufficiency

The Second Meeting of Coordinators of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture held in Pyongyang from June 10 though June 12 stressed the need to attain self-sufficiency in food and expand mutual cooperation among non-aligned nations. (Rodong Simmun, June 12)

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The Second Meeting of Coordinators of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture was held in the DPRK capital of Pyongyang from June 10 through June 12.

The meeting was attended by representatives of 9 coordinators: Bangladesh, the DPRK, Guinea, India, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Tanzania and Yugoslavia; 8 interested non-aligned countries: Cuba, Egypt, Guyana, Pakistan, P.L.O., Syria, Togo and Viet Nam and the representative of FAO.

The meeting adopted a report and mandated the DPRK to take necessary measures for convening a meeting of irrigation experts of coordinators, including the appointment of its date and venue in consultation with coordinators, and agreed to convene the Third Meeting of Coordinators of Non-aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture in Tanzania in July, 1982.

Addressing the opening session, Mr. So Gwan Hi, DPRK Vice-Premier and Chairman of the Agricultural Commission of the DPRK, warned against the possible economic and political consequences of their increasing food dependence on other countries. He stressed the need for further expanding and strengthening mutual cooperation among the non-aligned and other developing countries to attain self-sufficiency in food, on the basis of unity, solidarity and mutual assistance and following the strategy of individual and collective self-reliance.

The meeting expressed its energetic condemnation of the attempts of some developed countries to use food as a political and economic weapon against non-aligned and other developing countries.

The meeting, expressing concern over the fact that, far from improving, the food and agricultural situation in the non-aligned and other developing countries becomes worse and worse, reaffirmed that a main way in which the non-aligned and other developing countries may solve their precarious food situation is by rapidly increasing their own food production.

The meeting made various recommendations on various items which include technicial and scientific cooperation, irrigation, cooperation relating to agricultural inputs and agricultural equipment, fertilizers, training of technical personnel, survey of the fields of cooperation of non-aligned countries in agriculture, food security and coordination of positions at international organizations and meetings on food and agriculture.

The DPRK government agreed to send, through the Coordinating Bureau of Non-aligned Countries in New York, the report and recommendations of the meeting to all the non-aligned countries.

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Japanese Police Raid Korean Co-operative

The Japanese police authorities, in Okayama Prefecture, searched by force a Korean firm and homes of Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) officials and confiscated documents on groundless charges.

At about 9:30 A.M. of June 11, the Mizushima police station in Kurashiki City, Okayama Prefecture, raided the Korean commercial co-operative, on suspicion of the so-called "false entry of notarial deed."

And also they tried to search even the local Korean chamber of commerce and industry and the local branch of Kumgang Insurance Company (of Korean compatriots in Japan, in the area of Okayama Prefecture).

The policemen searched the home of Sin Son Su, (a vice-director general of the local Korean chamber of commerce and industry).

The Korean commercial co-operative here was founded 26 years ago. It has abided by the law of Japan.

The co-operative is mainly for the purpose of mutual aid and for helping tiding areas unfavourable financial conditions.

Even if there were suspicion, the matter is still to be solved through administrative guidance, never to be treated as a criminal case.

Chongryun officials and Korean residents instantly lodged strong protests with the police station.

Amin Calls S.Korea Worst Case of Economic Failure

Mr. Samir Amin, an internationally-renowned authority on imperialism and its subjugation of Third World economies, declared the south Korean economy has no chance of catching up with the advanced countries and is a worst case of failure.

He called south Korea a most typical case of imperialist subjugation and predicted an ever-growing decisive role of the labor movement in the future course of south Korea.

A former Egyptian economic policy-maker was attacked by the south Korean minister of education in his unprecedented speaking tour of south Korean universities with main stress on communism.

A number of south Korean dailies, including Seoul Simmun, carried his speech in installments starting with its February 19 issue.

His book "The Economic Development of Third-World Countries" was translated into Korean and published in Seoul in 1980, creating tremendous interest.

His works are believed greatly influencing the thinking of south Korean students and intellectuals in dealing with the issues of their society.

Mr. Amin, while visiting Tokyo for a series of talks at major universities and seminars, including an international conference on Kampuchea, talked with a staff reporter of The People's Korea at a downtown hotel in Tokyo on June 6.

Follow excerpts from his exclusive interview:

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Q: What are the conditions of Third World economies vis-a-vis imperial powers?

A: I think a very important point is to see what has changed and what has not changed in the situation as it is now, that is, after the Second World War, as opposed to what it was before. Since the end of the 19th century, the capitalist system has entered its imperialist phase. Now, until the last war, this imperialist system was characterized by the direct control of imperial powers over colonies and semi-colonies in Africa, Asia and globally with the exception of the case of Japan.

In that stage of the imperialist system, the international division of labor was characterized by the fact that the colonies and semi-colonies were confined to producing for the imperialist centers of metropolises agricultural products and mineral raw materials. They had almost no industry to speak of and were regarded as markets for manufactured goods of industries of the centers of the imperialist metropolises. Now, this unequal division of labor was operating directly through the imperialist colonial-semi-colonial system. Among others south Korea is a typical case of direct subjugation and domination as a colony of Japan. It was also operating through the class alliance of the imperialist monoply capital with the local ruling classes of feudal and comprador type, that is, Arcadian exploiters of various origins and those of merchant and financial type.

(Continued on page 8)

Has No Capability to Attack S.Korea: DPRK Official

"The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has neither intention of launching a military attack on south Korea nor capability to do so," a high-ranking Pyongyang official told Japan's leading daily Asahi Shimbun on June 15.

The Deputy to the Supreme People's Assembly and Vice-Chairman of the Korean Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries was visiting Japan as the head of the DPRK friendship delegation of the parliamentary group.

Mr. Hyon Jung Guk charged that the United States and south Korea are talking about the groundless threat of north Korean attack on south Korea to justify their "two-Korea" policy and their own military adventurism.

As reasons why Pyongyang cannot launch an attack on Seoul, he listed the three factors: 1) American military presence in south Korea; 2) the south Korean military forces are being beefed up and shortly will reach the level of 1,270,000 combat troops; 3) the DPRK has only between 370,000 and 400,000 combat troops.

This is the first time that a Pyongyang official admitted Pyongyang's lack of attack capability, citing concrete figure of the armed forces.

He criticized the U.S. Government of President Ronald Reagan for taking a hostile attitude toward Pyongyang, but called on Washington to open dialogue between the two nations.

Mr. Hyon, criticizing the questinable relations between Tokyo and Seoul, asked the Japanese government to refrain from any act which may hinder the reunification of the Korean Peninsula, and to move toward bilateral trade and other economic and cultural exchanges.

During its stay in Japan, a group of the DPRK parliamentarians held two rounds of talks with the Japanese Dietmen's group and held discussions with political parties here.

Non-Aligned States—Issue of Food Supply

Report at 2nd Non-Aligned Coordinating Meeting on Food & Agriculture

The Second Meeting of Coordinators of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture held in Pyongyang, from June 10 to 12 adopted the following report upon successful conclusion of the debate on its agenda items:

Pyongyang, June 10-12, 1981

1. The Second Meeting of Coordinators of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture was held in Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from the 10th to the 12th of June, 1981.

2. The meeting was attended by representatives of 9 coordinators: Bangladesh, DPR of Korea, Guinea, India, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, the Sudan, Tanzania and Yugoslavia; 8 interested non-aligned countries: Cuba, Egypt, Guyana, Pakistan, P.L.O., Syria, Togo and Viet Nam and the representative of FAO.

3. The meeting was opened by Mr. Radojicic Luka, representative of the chairing country of the First Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agricultue.

4. The opening session was addressed by Mr. So Gwan Hi, Vice-Premier of the Administration Council and Chairman of the Agricultural Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

5. Warning against the gravity of food situation in some developing countries and against the possible economic and political consequences of their increasing food dependence on other countries, he stressed the need for further expanding and strengthening mutual cooperation among the non-aligned and other developing countries to attain self-sufficiency in food, on the basis of unity, solidarity and mutual assistance and following the strategy of individual and collective self-reliance.

6. He conveyed best wishes of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for success of the meeting, hoping that it would recommend practical measures, in the field of mutual cooperation, for rapidly increasing food production in compliance with the recommendations of the Fifth and Sixth Summit Conferences of the Non-Aligned Countries and those of the First Meeting of Coordinators in Belgrade.

7. At the opening session of the meeting, Mr. Cristobal Colom Alemany, head of the Cuban delegation, spoke on behalf of his country which occupies the chairmanship of the non-aligned movement at present. In his speech, Mr. Colom greeted the meeting and stressed the importance of the documents adopted at the different conferences of the movement and how these represent a good basis for the achievement of cooperation in the field of food and agriculture.

8. Mr. Choi Su Hon (DPR of Korea) was elected chairman, Mr. Iqbal Hussain Choudhury (Bangladesh) was elected vice-chairman and Mr. Daniel Sousa (Mozambique) was elected rapporteur of the meeting.

9. The delegates observed one minute silence in the memory of the late President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, H.E. Ziaur Rahman.

10. The meeting adopted the agenda.

Conclusions and Recommendations

A. General Remarks

11. The meeting expressed concern over the fact that, far from improving, the food and agricultural situation in the non-aligned and other developing countries becomes worse and worse.

12. Food production growth continues to lag behind the minimum target of 4 per cent annual growth rate adopted at the Colombo Summit Conference and the World Food Conference; at the same time the per capita production is going down in many non-aligned and other developing countries.

13. The developing world, which formerly used to export its agricultural output, now imports large quantities of grain. Food dependence of the developing countries on developed countries is increasing to such an extent that it may have serious economic and political consequences.

14. The meeting pointed out that the targets and objectives internationally agreed upon to assist the developing countries were not implemented due to lack of political will on the part of some developed countries.

15. The meeting expressed its energetic condemnation of the attempts of some developed countries to use food as a political and economic weapon against non-aligned and other developing countries.

16. The meeting reaffirmed that the main way in which the non-aligned and other developing countries may solve their precarious food situation is by rapidly increasing their own food production.

17. The meeting particularly stressed the fact that for these countries, self-sufficiency in food is a key factor in consolidating economic self-support, securing political independence and firmly maintaining their sovereignty and non-aligned policy in international relations.

18. The meeting reaffirmed the need for the non-aligned and other developing countries to further intensify concerted action in their efforts to establish a new international economic order with special reference to food and agriculture.

19. The meeting noted the increasing dynamism of activities of the coordinators for food and agriculture; thus, the First Meeting of Coordinators for Food and Agriculture was convened in compliance with the decision of the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries which urged the coordinators to take steps towards carrying out the decisions of the preceding summit conference, related to food and agriculture.

20. The meeting pointed out with satisfaction that:

A. The First Meeting of Coordinators for Food and Agriculture held in Belgrade between July 7-9, 1980 had reached an agreement on the areas of mutual cooperation, on the ways and means to promote it in the field of food and agriculture as well as on the need to convene a meeting of experts of the coordinators on creating a system of food security.

B. The meeting was duly held in Rome, between January 20-22, 1981, and it discussed proposals for various joint ventures aimed at encouraging food production, at the same time creating the ground for their implementation.

C. The Foreign Ministers Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held in New Delhi between February 9-13, 1981, decided to take all necessary measures to step up food and agricultural production, to implement conclusions and recommendations of the First Meeting of the Coordinators, to examine in detail the proposals included in the report of the meeting of the experts of coordinators on food security then, at the earliest possible date, to submit them to the co-ordinating bureau for examination; finally it was also decided to hold a symposium on increasing food and agricultural production in Pyongyang at the end of August, 1981.

The meeting fully endorsed the conclusions reached at the high level conference on economic cooperation among developing countries, held in Caracas, Venezuela, 13-18 May, 1981, especially in the field of food and agriculture and stressed the need to work together for the implementation of these conclusions.

21. The meeting, however, admitted that the activity of the coordinators since the First Meeting of Coordinators for Food and Agriculture is still in infancy.

Accordingly it is urgent that they take effective measures to increase food and agricultural production and attain self-sufficiency in food by encouraging and supporting all initiatives aimed at implementing already adopted decisions and recommendations.

22. The meeting emphasized the importance for all non-aligned and other developing countries to mobilize and utilize their potential and possibilities, in the spirit of self-reliance and with a view to achieving self-sufficiency in food.

23. The meeting laid emphasis on the need to encourage and develop cooperation among the non-aligned and other developing countries with a view to contributing to national efforts for self-sufficiency in food and making collective progress. It pointed out that actions of cooperation should be promoted, inter alia, along the following lines:

A. Broad participation of countries in joint ventures on the basis of the principle of complementarity, through a steady exchange of resources, technological know-how or financial means, in accordance with possibilities of each country.

B. Encourage both traditional and new forms of cooperation, on the basis of mutual advantage and assistance.

In particular, the non-aligned countries with technical and financial capabilities within the non-aligned movement should adopt special measures, in the spirit of cooperation, and help other countries to achieve food and agricultural self-sufficiency.

C. Direct priority efforts of mutual cooperation towards consolidating the material and technical base for a rapid increase in food production with special reference to fertilizers, agricultural machinery, improvement of irrigation, development of pastures and fodder, control of drought, desertification and salinity and waterlogging, agricultural science and technology and training of agricultural technical personnel.

B. Recommendations in Specific Fields of Cooperation

1. TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

24. On this item, the meeting made the following recommendations:

A. Efficient action must be taken so that the already considerable high-quality scientific and technological knowledge of some non-aligned countries could be shared by other non-aligned and developing countries in a rapid and creative way.

In this respect, bilateral cooperation should be stepped up and preliminary studies be conducted for a survey on the need to create new regional centres of research and dissemination of agricultural knowledge.

This matter should be looked into by a specialized group of experts who would, then, make the necessary recommendations.

B. The exchange of plant and animal material of high genetic value for the growth of agricultural production should be intensified.

In the future this must be the object of analysis by specialists with a view to setting the norms of plant and animal protection for each country and region.

C. Cooperation should not be confined to crop production; taking into account the great importance of proteins in man's food, cooperation in the field of animal production, particularly in that of meat and milk, should be intensified.

2. IRRIGATION

25. Reaffirming that one of the priority areas of cooperation is the rational use of land and water resources, including irrigation, the meeting emphasized the need for active measures aimed at introducing irrigation systems, utilizing rivers and preventing damage caused by drought and floods.

26. In this connection the meeting agreed to convene a meeting of experts in irrigation to deal with problems of water resources and drought with a view to working out proposals for joint ventures and cooperative actions aimed at the rational use of land and water resources.

27. The irrigation experts will make reasonable and practical proposals for:

A. Exploration for possibilities of harnessing and developing water resources;

B. The framework, forms and ways or primary cooperation in the field of irrigation;

C. Cooperative measures to lay down the material and technological foundations which will make it possible for every country to utilize its land and water resources, including irrigation water, by its own means;

D. The exchange and training of irrigation technicians and experts as well as cooperation in the dissemination of experience and technology;

E. The possible creation of a mechanism that will coordinate the drawing-up and implementation of plans for cooperative action in the field of irrigation.

F. The suggestion of measures to increase productivity in the drought affected areas by improving the water and moisture resources of the soil.

3. COOPERATION RELATING TO AGRICULTURAL INPUTS AND AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT.

28. While recognizing the complexity of problems raised by the mechanization of agriculture in each country, the meeting considers that;

A. It is necessary to undertake a study on possibilities and prospects of manufacturing agricultural equipment in various non-aligned countries as a first step towards establishing diverse forms of complementarity in the production of these important inputs;

B. It is desirable that capable countries extend in form of aid interest-free loans, equipment or experience needed to enable the countries to establish their own manufacture of agricultural equipment;

C. It is important to exchange available technical information on the use of simple yet efficient agricultural implements for peasant farming;

D. It is desirable now to consider the strategic importance of such agricultural production technology that will decrease the consumption of oil-derived agricultural inputs.

Fertilizers

29. Given the growing importance of the utilization of fertilizers in agriculture, the meeting recommended:

A. The exchange and development of scientific and technical knowledge leading to a rational utilization of chemical fertilizers, the growing utilization of organic fertilizers, and the adoption of integrated agricultural systems to improve soil fertility.

B. The implementation of coordinated activities of the non-aligned countries particularly through the FAO agencies with the purpose of persuading the fertilizer producing countries to limit the increase of fertilizer prices.

C. The completion of joint ventures for the fertilizer production between the countries which possess resources (know-how and raw materials) and fertilizer-consuming countries in order to guarantee an ever greater independence from the developed countries.

D. It is essential that countries should encourage and promote the use of non-chemical fertilizers, particularly bio-mass fertilizers and nitrogen fixing legumes.

Training of Technical Personnel

30. This is a problem to which the meeting paid great attention.

31. Indeed, it was stressed that agricultural production could not be increased unless every country had technical personnel in appropriate numbers and possessed the required skills in each stage of its development.

32. Therefore, the meeting recommended that bilateral cooperation in training should be intensified. It also noted that the countries which have resources in training should increase the number of courses of study and scholarships for the non-aligned and other developing countries.

The meeting recommended that capable countries offer technical assistance in the form of aid or equipment to national institutions of other countries to enable them to carry out their mission in training.

33. Moreover, the meeting recommended that ways of intensifying cooperation in this field including the setting up of joint higher education institutions, be explored in the future on the basis of a more exact assessment of the needs and possibilities of cooperation existing in the various countries.

Survey of the Fields of Cooperation of Non-Aligned Countries in Agriculture

34. The meeting considered that it was important either for the

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Bi-System Reunification: Economic, Political and Military Significance

(1) Economic Implications

--Emergence of a Major Economic Power in the Far East, Comparable to Japan in Terms of GNP, Population, Technology, and Favored with Abundant Natural Resources

At the time of a reunification, a confederal Korea will have GNP less than that of Japan, but will likely increase it and catch up with Japan.

Reasons and Conditions:

-North and South Korea have a combined population of over fifty million;

-North and South Korea have a well-trained and highly-educated labor force;

-North and South Korea have high levels of technical knowhow and large numbers of qualified and seasoned engineers and scientists;

-A radical reduction in troop strength will enable a confederal Korea to concentrate all its energies on building economy in a coordinated way;

-North has large and possibly inexhaustible deposits of underground resources of high quality, including iron, copper, zinc, coal and uranium, while the continental shelf of the Korean Peninsula is believed containing huge amounts of oil;

-South will get free access to rich underground resources of north, reducing its dependence on foreign countries;

-North and South will form a large joint market, with all sorts of interchange and cooperation being undertaken.

--Will Greatly Contribute to Stabilization of the Economic Situation in the Asian and Pacific Region

Reasons and Contions

-A confederal Korea will become a credit-worthy economic partner;

-A confederal Korea will not incur deficits in its trade relations;

-As a major advanced economic power, a confederal Korea will become a key factor in correcting the one-sided and unnatural economic relations in the Asian and Pacific Region to the advantage of the developing countries.

-Even Japan and the United States will find a huge market in a bi-system Korea and expect to expand their business relations with it.

(2) Political Implications

--Emergence of a Major Neutral, Non-Aligned State in the Otherwise Most Sensitive Area of the Far East, Contributing to Reducation of Tensions among Big Powers

--Disappearance of a Possible Source of Big-Power Confrontation and Rivalry in That Area of Northeast Asia

(3) Military Implications

--Creation of a Non-Nuclear, Peace Zone in Northeast Asia, with a strong possibility of expanding to neighboring countries

--The Korean Peninsula and its waters will declared off-limits to nuclear weapons and their vehicles, reducing the chances of nuclear exchange in that area of Northeast Asia

--The dismantlement of the Military Demarcation Line separating North and Korea

--Withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from south Korea for a good

--No more introduction of foreign troops and weapons to Korea

--Emergence of a Korea refusing any role in any type of military alliance or bloc

--Disappearance of face-to-face presence of hostile troops armed to the teeth with their allies ready to come to their aid, be it in the air, on the ground, in the sea or underwater.

(4) No Harm to Security Interests of Neighboring Countries

--No presence of a third-country armed forces unit on Korea

--No country will be permitted to use Korea, its soil, waters and airspace for any sort of military operations against any of neigboring countries.

--A confederal Korea will never join or help any military operations against any of neigboring countries.

--A confederal Korea will ready to offer its good offices to mediate any dispute among neigboring countries.

--Therefore, a confederal Korea will go a long way with neigboring states as a most effective trouble-shooting power.

--as a major non-aligned, neutral and non-nuclear power, a confederal Korea will greatly contribute to world peace.

"Democratic Unity Declaration"

Seoul's Underground Dissidents Call for World-Wide Anti-Chon Struggle

With the following concludes a gist of the report entitled "Democratic Unity Declaration – In Commemoration of the First Anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising": (A subtitle is ours . . . . Ed.)

△

The present Constitution institutionalizes the Parliament as the supreme organ of the people. But like the Yusin Constitution, it does not provide for separation of the three powers as the basic foundation of a democratic country. The President may appoint the Chief Justice and justices of the Supreme Court. Though the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has a legal power to appoint or dismiss judges other legal officers, the Chon Du Hwan junta has a final say, by passing over his head. Though a presiding judge is appointed by the National Assembly as a matter of form, his appointment cannot be formalized without his nomination by the President, who is also the president of the party in power. Yu Tae Hung became the presiding judge of the Supreme Court in recognition of his service to the junta: He sentenced Kim Jae Gyu to death, and expressed his intention in his inaugural address to follow the demand of the rules rather than law.

Secondly, let's discuss the anti-democratic dictatorial character of the Chon Du Hwan regime by reviewing all the wicked laws that "the Legislative Council for National Security" fabricated to sustain the so-called "Fifth Republic."

The Chon Du Hwan clique recognizes the legislative power of the National Assembly and the independence of the judicature constitutionally, in order to deceive the people. Besides it recognizes fundamental human rights–freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and demonstration, personal liberty, freedom of learning and thought, and so on, as well as the three powers of labor, labor's right to organization and to collective bargaining and collective action. But making the Legislative Council fabricate all sorts of anti-democratic laws, they practically deny even a modicum of democracy and human rights. So they have made a mockery of constitutional institutions.

The National Assembly Law does not guarantee its legislative activity, preventing an assemblyman from acting as a representative of the people or from deliberating on state affairs. It limits the number of speakers and their speaking time, obligate them to submit their speech texts twenty-four hours before their speech for pre-censorship. Besides its essence is to keep national assemblymen attendants of the dictatorship and nothing more and reduce them to the high-class leisure nobility. The National Assembly opens debate at 2 P.M. and participation of an assemblyman in the debate of state affairs is a sort of leisure pursuit. They have institutionalized a system in which the discussion of state affairs should not take precedence over other affairs.

The basic law of the press and speech formulated by the Legislative Council completely denies constitutional freedom of speech. Freedom of speech is now a thing of the past and only the means of public information exists. The merger, or abolition of mass media has been advertized as voluntary, but it is a government controlled realignment, with radio and TV stations placed under government control. One-tenth of all the men of the press became unemployed over night.

Freedom of assembly and demonstration is guaranteed by the Constitution. But by the "law on assembly and demonstration" framed by the Legislative Council, their guarantee is completely denied. Police can punish any persons for a preparatory act as well as for holding an indoor or outdoor meeting. As a matter of fact, assembly and demonstration are prohibited. The Legislative Council made a law on the execution of police duties -the worst of all the laws made by it- so that police can shoot at demonstrators in case they do not obey an order of dissolution. This not only deprives people of freedom of assembly and demonstration but shows that the Chon Du Hwan regime has "institutionalized a system of murderers." Moreover, it permits reserve troops to use force for prevention of a demonstration and legalizes the use of firearms inside a penitentiary. This law made to maintain the dictatorship of the Chon Du Hwan group is a typical example to show the anti-democratic nature of the Chon Du Hwan regime.

After many twists and turns, the three rights of labor and the rights of association, collective bargaining and collective actionswereguaranteed. But the Legislative Council has deprived labor of these rights, by revising all the labor laws. It has degraded the trade union into a nominal friendship society of workers, depriving the trade union of its status as workers' representative body in the labor-management council. It also denies an industrial organization of trade unions and the existence itself of the trade union so that the government can order any trade union not to its hiking to be dissolved.

Photo shows a view of anti-Chon Du Hwan demonstration held in downtown Washington in Feb., 1981. A placard reads: "Down with Chon Du Hwan!"

Control Measures:

Deception & Violence

The Chon Du Hwan military-dictatorial regime is stressing the following as its political "ideas" liberation from war, poverty and political suppression; nationality; democracy; justice; welfare; and unification. However, since Chon Du Hwan usurped power, the situation has become as bad as it could be. The country which deeply depends on foreign forces, has lost its national independence, and the words "democracy and justice," are no more than means of camouflaging the real nature of its dictatorial politics. Dictatorship, suppression and injustice are rampant, and the masses earn a small and precarious livelihood because of the economic crisis as well as poor welfare measures. It is more difficult to attain national unification and the relations between north and south are becoming more tense. The central measures employed by the Chon Du Hwan regime are public deception and violence used against those who see through the deceptive measures.

Courageous students in Seoul, in opposition to the barbarism committed by martial law soldiers, throw rocks to them. (May 3, 1980)

Though Chon and his company call for dialogue with the popular masses, it is precisely they who prohibited all political activities and arrested many democratic dissident citizens by force of arms. Though Chon and his company advocate liberation from political suppression and national conciliation, they continue to detain the democratic patriotic persons including Mr. Kim Dae Jung, strengthening the suppression of and retaliation against their political opponents. In spite of the desire to win public support for its slogan "construction of a new society," they enacted a law on political activities to continue to prohibit political activities for a large number of politicians including Mr. Kim Yong Sam, former President of the New Democratic Party.

Though the Chon group insists that the National Assembly represents popular sovereignty, because of its political and legislative powers, the National Assembly has already been turned into a tool of the dictatorial regime so that it can not longer represent the general will of the people.

Though the regime calls for social purification and liquidation of corrupt elements, their movement is aimed at deceiving public opinion and making public officials deeply depend on the dictatorial power under political suppression. It is also aimed at liquidating conscientious public officials, jurists and journalists.

Though the Chon group insists that it is necessary for the people to oppose confrontation and cherish the spirit of tolerance, it aggravates confrontation by throwing Mr. Kim Dae Jung into prison and placing Mr. Kim Yong Sam under house arrest, and also by blaming the Kwangju citizens for the bloody incident that occurred there. Though the Chon regime which utilizes the military as a tool of usurping and maintaining power, calls for national security, it seriously damaged it by dividing the military and harming its prestige.

Though the Chon regime advocates a departure from dependence on foreign forces, its dependence on foreign forces is increased in political, economy, military affairs and in foreign policy. Our people underwent national humiliation to depend on big foreign powers. At that time, Chon Du Hwan said that south Korea should be an advanced base for the defense of Japan and the U.S.

Though the regime calls for continued economic growth, the south Korean economy is on the verge of total collapse as the recession continues – price increases, depreciation of real wages, bankruptcies of enterprises, increase of unemployment, and snowballing foreign debts. Under these circumstances, the popular masses pick up a scanty livelihood and even businessmen of big enterprises as well as those of minor enterprises are being thrown into financial straits.

The Chon group deprived farmers of their zeal for production and bring on inflation by oversissing currency to secure funds for the presidential and parliamentary elections. Thus, Chon Du Hwan and his company threaten the livelihood of workers. The wage policy of the Chon junta is to maintain a less than 15 percent increase in wages, in spite of a 40–50 percent increase in the prices of commodities. The Chon regime announced that it would not allow a bank to lend money to an enterprise which would accept an over 15 percent wage hike.

Due to the economic policy of the Chon Du Hwan regime and its acts of economic plunder, businessmen have lost their willingness to risk money and the business boom is cooling off. In addition, while calling for introduction of foreign capital and adoption of open-door economic policy, the regime made the country an economic colony for the interests of foreign countries.

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(Continued from page 4)

The Chon group insists that Chon's visit to the U.S. and the summit meeting with Reagan were the most impressive diplomatic fact achieved by the group. However, because of the real nature of the Chon group, the international community of nations regards south Korea as a barbarous state, and the people as cruel people, and the Third World countries unanimously denounce us. The above-mentioned criticism of south Korea is due to the atrocities committed by Chon Du Hwan in Kwangju. The Chon Du Hwan group is making desperate efforts to receive support from the U.S. and to strengthen its ties with Japanese militarism. On the basis of support from the militaristic elements of the U.S. and Japan, and political and economic collusion with them, the Chon Du Hwan regime intends to suppress human rights to strengthen its dictatorial system. In order to accomplish these aims, the company spends money for invitation diplomacy and offers bribes to foreign countries. These acts brings international shame on south Korea. We would like to recall the fact that Chon Du Hwan utilizes support from foreign countries as a sort of international guarantee which allows it to suppress the human rights of the south Korean people.

The Chon Du Hwan group says that south Korea's national defense is strong due to its ability and efforts, and it tries to avoid the resistance of the people by stressing national security. However, national security is on the verge of collapse. By utilizing the military, who are supposed to defend the country, as a tool of usurping power, and by making soldiers kill good citizens, Chon Du Hwan and his company turned the military into a tool of mass suppression of human rights. In general, the people's awareness of national defense lies in their instinctive self-defense and their intention to defend their interests. Recently, the south Korean people greet each other saying: "Is there anything new?" This greeting reflects a terror atmosphere which has been created by the Chon Du Hwan dictatorial regime which supplanted Pak Jung Hi's Yusin system. How can the Chon group maintain national security when individuals feel danger. Without democratization of the society, there is no other way to maintain national security. The idea that national security is the foremost task to be performed by a country only threatens national security.

In the name of education of political opponents, the Chon Du Hwan regime tortures and do violence to them in prison or in military barracks. It bought 600,000 square meter land in an uninhabited isle on the West Sea an area behind the sea cost, respectively, where it plans to build prisons for their purification and education. There is no difference between these prisons and Nazi concentration camps. According to press reports in the beginning of April, Ho Mun Do, Parliamentary Secretary or Chon Du Hwan's follower (who is called a megalomaniac by reporters), said in a lecture to national assemblymen: "Judging from questions raised by the students, their ideological orientation, and their struggle aims, we can recognize in them an anti-government stance . . . . We must remember their slogan and also the fact that they are equipped with moral and ideological weapons." Though Chon Du Hwan and his company insist that there is no anti-government forces in south Korea, they can not but recognize the existence of dissident forces, and fear them.

The Chon Du Hwan regime regards the following students as dissident forces: the consciously united students and those who identify their interests with persons who suffer from poverty, disease, or oppression. The Chon Du Hwan regime keeps a strict watch on the following students and says that they must be suppressed: Students who are aware of social injustice and criticize it; those who love the masses; and those who are making efforts for social justice. On the other hand, the Chon Du Hwan group loves the following students: Students who do not have a definite attitude toward society and do not have any social criticism; those who think only of their personal interests; and those who turn their backs to the suffering masses.

While suppressing those who want to live conscientiously and regarding them as dangerous, the Chon junta tries to favor corrupt elements and those who follow the government meekly.

In his lecture to south Korean residents in the U.S. in the beginning of February when he visited Los Angeles, Chon Du Hwan said that he had not told a lie since he told a lie to his mother because he wanted to taste sugar. But, at that time he lied in his teeth. When Chon and his followers open their mouths, they tell lies. The only broadcasting companies that now operate in south Korea are government-controlled Chung-Ang Broadcasting Corp. and Munhwa Broadcasting Corp. It is true there are several newspapers, but they are all governemnt-controlled organs which only report lies invented by Chon Du Hwan and his company. To establish a system of lying is part of the press policy of the Chon junta.

The victims of the Chon Du Hwan regime are not only the dissident democratic leaders. Under the rule of the regime, the victims covered the entire spectrum of population, excepting a handful of Chon's followers. If the U.S. continues to support the Chon Du Hwan regime, the U.S. will betray the south Korean people's trust to it. As a result, the U.S. will suffer serious damage to its prestige. The U.S. should reflect on its action by which it has lost the confidence of the south Korean people in it: The U.S. government allowed the military to commit murders in the May 17 emergency measure, the Dec. 12 incident and the Kwangju incident; Gen. Wickham, Commander of U.S. forces in south Korea, permitted the south Korean armed forces to be concentrated on Seoul at the time of the May 17 emergency measure; Gleysteen, U.S. Ambassador to Seoul, said that the U.S. government positively understood the May 17 expansion of martial law throughout the country; and as soon as the Reagan administration was sworn in, it requested Chon Du Hwan to visit the U.S. and instigated its suppressive policy. By reflecting self-critically on its acts, the U.S. should lighten the burden imposed on it.

If the south Korean people does not overthrow the dictatorial system of Chon Du Hwan with their united strength, and if Chon's dictatorial system continues, we can predict the following situation will develop: Chon Du Hwan will not carry out what he calls a peaceful transfer of power, nor will he step down from power even after his 7-year tenure of office. He has no intention to conduct it and is making desperate efforts to continue long in power.

However, Chon Du Hwan will not be able to continue his dictatorial rule for a long time because after all the people will overthrow it with their united strength. When the parliamentary election was held in last March, a candidate predicted the fate of the Chon junta. We should understand that his prediction was not based on his personal judgement but was based on the will of the masses. Outwardly, the Chon regime seems to be stable, but in fact, Chon Du Hwan and his company are surrounded by the people in all walks of life who oppose his military dictatorship. We would like to say that this is not our wishful thinking but a definite fact.

First, Chon Du Hwan and his company are surrounded by the military officials who played a decisive role in the process by which Chon Du Hwan usurped power. Many military officials were resentful, saying that the prestige of the military was harmed by Chon Du Hwan's intervention in politics and his usurpation of power. They also feel ashamed about the fact that the military massacred citizens in the Kwangju Incident. A large number of military officers are also ashamed of the fact that they are followers of Chon Du Hwan and that they can't stop illegal acts by their superiors. Rumors are now circulated to the effect that there is a growing demand among the military that Chon Du Hwan should bear all responsibility for damaging the prestige of the military and for dividing them.

Second, Chon Du Hwan is launching the so-called social purification drive and liquidation drive of corrupt elements among public officials in order to maintain his dictatorial power and to force obedience on public officials, but there are mounting anti-Chon Du Hwan sentiments among them. Those who are elite-conscious and have professional ability, hate Chon Du Hwan, one of Yusin followers, and his company who are pulling them by the nose. In addition, recently, they have been resented over the fact that Chon Du Hwan and his company order this today and cancel it tomorrow. The discontent of public servants is clearly seen in the number of those who were recently purged from public offices in the social purification drive. Talking with public servants can not oppose the Chon junta for fear of being attacked by the junta and that most public servants hope the Chon Du Hwan company to be overthrown. The discontent of public servants is also clearly revealed in the fact that many retired as officials of the Central Intelligence Agency on their own accord.

Third, from the economic point of view, it is noteworthy that businessmen take a negative attitude to Chon Du Hwan's dictatorial rule. South Korea's business leaders have lost their willingness to risk money, because a handful of military officials change economic policy at will and have deprived them of property. As a result of business leaders' lack of willingness to risk money and their loss of managerial will, production has been cut back and employment opportunities are dwindling, with an unployment rate increasing. Though the Chon Du Hwan junta calls for free economic system in order to make business leaders feel easy in the face of negative economic factors, the above-mentioned unrest among business leaders will not be resolved because the violent nature of the Chon regime will remain unchanged. Businessmen know well that freedom allowed by a dictator is the same as that of a mouse under attack by a cat. This is clearly from the fact that a lot of speculative funds have been channeled into the stock market. It also reflects people's intention to dabble in speculation in stead of making industrial investments.

Fourth, there are growing anti-Chon sentiments among workers and peasants becuase the Chon junta continues its plunderous policy against them. Though the labor movement is guaranteed by the Constitution, the labor laws which were enacted by the "Legislative Council for National Security" virtually deny the freedom of labor movement. However, history shows that no labor movement can be suppressed at bayonet-point because it is not of such a nature that it can be controlled by law or dictatorial power. It is a struggle for life itself. Nevertheless, restrictions are placed on it by suppressive measures and by the use of bayonets. Chon's military dictatorship will collapse because of its violent nature.

Fifth, there are democratic dissident forces in south Korea which have staged various struggle for democracy, democratic rights, and a democratic way of life for the people. The democratic dissident forces which triggered the Oct. 26 assassination incident of former dictator, will deal an appalling blow at the dictatorial rule of Chon Du Hwan, even if they are now in prisons or are under house arrest. Courageous students who have conscience and do not fear persecution will arouse pride in the minds of people and open up a bright future for our fatherland.

Sixth, the following persons are prepared to risk their honors and lives to fight Chon Du Hwan: Professors expelled from universities; judicial officers expelled from courts; students expelled from schools; pressmen deprived of their pens; and public servants, workers and officers of social organizations who were deprived of their jobs. As they were deprived of their means of livelihood by the Chon Du Hwan dictatorial regime, they know well that they can not live with the dictatorial rule of Chon Du Hwan. The reasons for their expulsion from their offices are their demand for democratic society. Without the collapse of the Chon Du Hwan system, their reinstatement can never be accomplished.

Seventh, the eyes, ears and mouths of world public will not allow the existence of the Chon junta. In addition, world conscience will not remain a passive spector at the violent suppression by the Chon junta. Without liquidation of the bloodstained Chon junta, we can not discuss human dignity; without denunciation of human rights suppression and the massacre committed by the junta, we can not discuss world peace. This fact mean that an overthrow of the Chon junta is not only a task assigned to the south Korean people, but also common task assigned to world conscience and the world's people. If someone can not understand our message, he or she should recall the atrocities committed by the Chon junta in the course of the Kwangju Incident.

We will win a victory in the near future. It will be a victory of human beings as well as that of freedom. It is also a victory of conscience as well as that of democracy.

For the victory of the south Korean people!

For the victory of the world and human beings!

(Concluded)

A general view of about 3,000 miners gathering outside the office of the Tongwon Coal Mining Co. in Sabuk City, N. Kyongsang Prov. The miners demanded wage hikes and an improvement of working conditions on April 21, 1980.

Photo: A Black Beret paratrooper clubs an unresisting youth during the Kwangju Incident on May 20, 1980.

"A-Bomb Victims in White Chogori" (17)

For Worth of Being Born

Kim Su Hyon, 60 years old, male; resident of Hakushima, Hiroshima City; born at Chechon County, North Chungchong Prov.; bombed at Ryukawa, Hiroshima City

(Continued from the previous issue)

Did I have anything worth living for in my life?

It was in the beginning of 1944 that I came to Hiroshima, Japan. Most Koreans in Japan in those days were doing hard work. I was working as a day-laborer at that time for reinforcement work on the Kabe Line of the National Railways. The overseer on the work site was a Japanese, but at the other 20 workers were Koreans. We carried gravel and ballast every day.

At around 8:00 p.m. the day before the atom-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, I was drinking alcoholic drinks in my apartment room with my friend. We heard an air-raid alert then as usual. My friend, listening to the siren, said to me, "By some chance tonight may be the last day of us." Unfortunately, this became a reality. I was thinking it would be better for me to die rather than to live, if I had to undergo hardships so much.

On the morning of Aug. 6 I was reading a newspaper, as I had enough time to go to work. The next moment I saw a flash and it became dark around me. I felt as if my body had been swallowed up underground. I lost my consciousness. I didn't know how many hours had passed. I thought I unconsciously shouted, "Help me!" No one replied to me. I just heard half-dead people groaning. A man living beside my room was buried under a fallen beam. He continued reciting a sutra until he breathed his last. I thought I had to extricate myself from a hell on earth by myself. When I looked around me, I found a ray of light in the darkness. I tried to get out in that direction, relying on the light. But by that time I found myself surrounded by fires. I ran about in confusion, fleeing from smoke. When I was searching for a way out, I at last found a hole made for the foundation of a house and slipped out of there.

I was surprised at the sight outside. Buildings which had been standing just before, were crushed and completely destroyed. I thought I was in a dream. The place where I was, was 800 metres from the hypocentre. I couldn't but think that it was by a miracle that I could survive.

I got out of there like one dazed. I didn't remember how I walked about in flames. When I restored my consciousness, I found myself walking near Showa-machi, 1 km from my apartment house. I saw a woman about 20 years old putting off her burning clothes. Looking at her, I realized for the first time that I was stark naked. All my sense of shame was benumbed. I picked up the clothes the woman had thrown off and put on the unburnt part of her clothes. Blood flowed from my hands and a nail was stuck in my thigh.

I thought I would be saved if I went to Mt. Hiji which overlooked Hiroshima City, and so, I began to walk. On my way to the mountain I saw a young mother giving her breast to her dead baby and walking about like a sleep-walker on a path up the mountain. Near the entrance of every dugout, corpses were piled up. They were unable to enter air-raid shelters. Every road and every river was full of bloody persons with their hands or legs blown off. It was a veritable hell on earth.

Though I climbed Mt. Hiji, I couldn't but go down the mountain, as I found no one there who could help me. A woman standing at the door of her house gave me a shirt and straw sandals saying, "Please take these." I can't forget the kindness even now which was shown me about 30 years ago. I don't know who she was, and have not met her since.

About 20 Korean families lived at a construction camp in Gion-cho on the outskirts of Hiroshima City. On my way to an acquaintance of mine who lived there, I met a large number of soldiers dead and lying on the ground. Breathing faintly, some of them cried, "Give me water," and "Help me." A terribly tearful sight it was.

All that time, I personally experienced the horrors of war. At the same time, I thought that soldiers who looked brave were humans like us and took pity on them. It was around 8:30 when I crossed the Ota River and reached the home of my acquaintance.

During my 20-day stay at his home, I was delirious with fever of 40 degrees. My hair fell down fast. The gums bled. I had loose bowels. I became weak and was unable to walk in an ordinary way.

I went to a first-aid station set up at an elementary school near my acquaintance's home to receive an examination. The doctor told my friend after the examination, "If he has parents, brothers or sisters, please call them." My friends made preparation even for a funeral service for me.

For three days I hovered between life and death in a coma. On the fourth day I made a narrow escape, miraculously. The only medicine we could get then, was mercurochrome. I think I could survive because of strong will to live.

Afterwards, thanks to the warm care extended by my compatriots, I gradually got better and in the beginning of 1946 I was able to move my body.

After I recovered my composure, I came to curse the war and the atom-bombing disaster for the first time. And I thought what was the war and for what and for whom the war was started.

For us Koreans, in particular, what was the war and what was the atom-bombing? Why did I have to undergo such hardships? Koreans after all were used as tools of the aggressive war. Therefore, we were put in such a miserable plight. I thought of those things.

Now I am suffering from the after-effect of radiation. I can't move my body freely. I am leading a difficult life. But, the Japanese government has ignored us Koreans and has not given us even a word of consolation. If an individual had committed such a crime, he would have been executed. But in the case of a state, it is not punished. Is it right? Japan committed innumerable crimes against Korea. I never heard any of the successive Japanese governments apologize to us Koreans for their crimes. This in spite of the fact that the Japanese used to stress the importance of morals, the sense of duty and humaneness. I now keenly feel anew that Japan used those words as a means of occupying other countries. We never forgive those who made us innocent people undergo difficulties, including the sufferings of the atom-bombed. Do you think that the sufferings of A-bomb victims will be mitigated by a small amount of allowances?

(Concluded)

Korean Paintings "Morning in Forest" By Choe Bok Sik

(Continued from page 2)

short-term cooperation or for the cooperation covering a longer period to take steps aimed at drawing a more precise inventory of the needs and possibilities of cooperation among the different countries that make up the non-aligned movement and other developing countries.

35. For this purpose the recommendation was made at this meeting of coordinators to draft a questionnaire concerning the needs and possibilities of cooperation in different fields defined as early as the first meeting of coordinators.

This questionnaire will be sent by diplomatic channels to different countries of the movement and to other developing countries.

The answers of the countries will have to be analysed by a committee of experts who will draw the conclusions and recommendations which will become the basis of a future debate on cooperation at the third meeting of coordinators.

Food Security

36. The meeting was informed about the progress made in this field, in particular about the study by experts of coordinators of non-aligned countries for food and agriculture, of the establishment of a food security system (including institutions), and about the arrangements and proposals made at the meeting of experts held in Rome, on 20-22, January 1981.

37. The meeting expressed the hope that the conclusions of the meeting of experts be sent to the coordinating bureau so that they should be the subject of analysis and decision at the next summit conference.

38. The meeting also deemed it important to have exchanges of experience in organizing national systems of distribution of agricultural products and inputs, in particular seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, taking into account importance of operative systems guaranteeing food security.

Coordination of Positions At International Organizations And Meetings on Food and Agriculture

39. The meeting noted that all coordinated action and common stands of the non-aligned countries at international meetings on food and agriculture will be true measures of strengthening the unity of the movement and of determining international organisations to provide more efficient assistance for the development of agriculture in non-aligned and other developing countries.

40-42. The meeting noted with appreciation that the group of 77 had been very active in preparing the common position of developing countries for all important international meetings. The coordinators urged all non-aligned countries to be increasingly active in the group of 77 and to demonstrate full unity in promoting the common position in various international meetings and negotiations.

The meeting recommended that the coordinators could meet on informal basis in Rome, in open meetings, occasionally, in order to secure monitoring and follow-up actions in the implementation of the conclusions and recommendations at this, and of the previous meeting of coordinators of non-aligned countries on food and agriculture.

C. Next Meetings

43. The meeting agreed to convene the Third Meeting of Coordinators of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture in July 1982.

44. The suggestion of the United Republic of Tanzania to be the host of the Third Meeting was welcomed.

45. The meeting mandated the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take necessary measures for convening a meeting of the irrigation experts of coordinators, including the appointment of its date and venue in consultation with the coordinators.

46. The meeting may be attended by the experts of other interested non-aligned countries.

47. Having been informed of the preparations for the symposium of the non-aligned and other developing countries on increasing food and agricultural production to be held in Pyongyang at the end of August, 1981 in accordance with the decision of the New Delhi foreign ministers conference, the meeting noted the successful progress of the preparations and expressed best wishes for the fruitful work of the symposium.

48. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as the host of the Second Meeting of Coordinators for Food and Agriculture, agreed to send, through the coordinating bureau of non-aligned countries in New York, the report and recommendations of this meeting to all the non-aligned countries.

Final Remarks

49. The delegates expressed their gratitude and appreciation to the great people and the government of the host country, particularly to the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for hospitality and the excellent services rendered to them, which helped and contributed fully and effectively to the success of the Second Meeting of Coordinators of Non-Aligned Countries for Food and Agriculture held in Pyongyang, 10-12, June 1981.

Foreign Invasion and Independence (2)

Culture Crucial in Long-Term Struggles

– S. Korean Monthly "Wolgan Chosun" –

Foreign Invasion

(Continued from the No. 1,040 issue of The People's Korea)

Foreign invasion of Korea continued for thousands of years from the period of Kochoson (Ancient Korea) to the invasion of Korea by Japan in modern times. According to a certain researcher, struggles against foreign forces were waged as many as 931 times, which included small-scale border clashes and fighting against pirates holding shorelines. It is not sure how reliable the number is and whether the same struggle is counted twice or more. The survey shows: Struggles were waged 11 times in Kochoson period; 143 times in the three-kingdom period, 417 times in the Koryo period, 360 times in the Choson period– 931 times in all.

The foreign invaders are classified into three main forces. The first is the Han tribe on the Chinese continent; the second is the Mongolians, the Hsien-pi tribe and Manchurians–the northern tribes–; and the third the Japanese.

In Chinese documents of the former Chin dynasty there are many references to the Tung-i tribe. There are also records on the Tung-i tribe under the Yin dynasty (20th century–1122 B.C.?). These records are found in inscriptions on bones and tortoise carapaces. The references in these records are mainly to struggles between the Han tribe and the Tung-i tribe. The Tung-i tribe means the Korean people in Chinese. According to a recent research, the Tung-i tribe lived in the Shan-tung Peninsula, the area of Palhae (Pohai) and some areas of present-day China and maintained relationships with the Han tribe.

The Tung-i tribe fought against the Han tribe from the period of the Yin dynasty and their struggles intensified in the period of the Chou dynasty (1122-256 B.C.). It took more than one and a half year for an army of Lu (one of the major districts of China under the Chou dynasty) to take a base from the Tung-i tribe. In order to control the influence of the Tung-i tribe, Chou-kung dispatched his son Po-chin to Lu. In about the 8th century B.C. King So On unified the Tung-i tribe and ruled the areas. However, the influence of the Tung-i tribe gradually waned in the period of the Chuniu Zhanguo (period under the late Chou dynasty for the 8th to the 5th century B.C.).

Through the Chun-chiu period of social confusion, feudal lords of the Chou dynasty, China, developed a culture of bronze, iron and copper wares and exercised their influence. On the other hand, metal weapons were manufactured and ancient ideas such as one hundred schools of thought were set up. However, the Tung-i tribe was unable to develop a culture comparable to the culture of the Chinese people. The Han tribe used bronze and iron instruments and manufactured superior weapons. The Han tribe controlled or drove away the Tung-i tribe from the Chinese region. In particular, after Shih-huang-ti unified China (221 B.C.), he forcibly carried out the assimilation policy of different tribes on Chinese territory. Therefore, most of the Tung-i tribe were assimilated to the Chinese or drove away from their territory.

In around the 3rd century B.C., Kochoson (Ancient Korea) was powerful enough to compete with Yen (Chinese state in the Warring Kingdoms period). Kochoson was attacked by General Chin-kai and deprived of its vast territory. While the Tung-i tribe was being driven away from Chinese territory by the strong influence of the Han tribe, the Han tribe began to invade Korean territory and Wei-shih Chao-hsien-kuo (Wisi Chosonguk in Korean, the state founded in Korea by Wei-man) was established.

Wisi Choson-guk was raided by Wudi of the Han dynasty (156-87 B.C.), who openly attempted to rule his neighboring states. This was because Wisi Choson-guk attempted to control small countries which were trying to directly negotiate with the Han dynasty.

The noticeable developments in the invasion of Wisi Choson-guk by Wudi were: the Han dynasty sought to reach a peaceful solution with Wisi Choson-guk; the Han dynasty forces besieged Wangonsong, the capital of Wisi Choson-guk, and finally conquered Wisi Choson-guk after about a year, taking advantage of the internal discord of Wisi Choson-guk. This means the Han dynasty avoided conquest by power.

Wisi Choson-guk must have been aware of the above-mentioned fact. Then why did the Han dynasty do so? This was because of the high cultural level of Wisi Choson-guk. Wisi Choson-guk accepted a large number of emigrants from China. Based on the traditional cultural foundation Wisi Choson-guk absorbed the iron culture of China. Therefore, Wisi Choson-guk was able to conquer its small neighboring states. It subordinated some big tribes.

As the Han dynasty knew the cultural level and ability of Wisi Choson-guk, it avoided direct confrontation.

However, Wisi Choson-guk fell in 108 B.C. It was defeated by a cultural confrontation. This influenced the whole of the Korean Peninsula. Four commanderies were established in the northern Korea by the Han rulers of China and Lo-lang, one of the commanderies continued to exist until 313 A.D.

During the period, Kochoson was reorganized. Puyo and Koguryo emerged in the northern area and the three Han tribes (Ma Han, Chin Han and Pyon Han – the Korean tribes) were unified by Silla, Paekche and Karak. The sphere of the iron culture of the Han dynasty expanded. By the exercise of political power and economic exploitation, the society of Kochoson disintegrated, paving the way to the emergence of a new society and development of a new culture. Disbandment of the four commanderies was due to their own contradictions. This was due more to the newly-emerging cultural ability of our nation.

After the establishment of the three kingdoms in Korea, struggles against China were led by Koguryo. Before Koguryo set up a complete ancient state system, the Han tribe of China dispatched General Wu Chu-chien of Wei (a Chinese dynasty, 220-265 A.D.) to Koguryo and attacked it in 344 in order to prevent the cultural and social development of the Tung-i tribe. Wei's attack on Koguryo continued until the next year, threatening the existance of King Tong Myong-led Koguryo. This made it all the more difficult for Koguryo to drive away the forces of the four commanderies.

In the period of King Mi Chon (300-331), Koguryo drove away the last forces from Han Gun county. But in the period of King Koguk Won (331-371), Koguryo was invaded by Hsien-pi (a tribe which extended its influence in those days from the upper stream of the Liao River to the Liao-tung area) and sustained a crushing defeat. In the struggle against Paekche, the king died while fighting. King Soso Rim (371-384) found the cause of defeat in the country's relations in the decline of its cultural strength. Setting forth a bold cultural policy, he imported Buddhism, established *taehak* (learning institutes) and strengthened Confucianist education. As a result of his cultural policy, his successors such as King Kwanggae To (391-412) and King Chang Su (413-491) developed active foreign policy.

When Koguryo emerged as a conquerer of Manchuria in the 5th century, there was no big clash with China, which was divided under the Northern and Southern Dynasties (221-589). At the end of the 6th century, China was unified by Sui. And since then, clashes between Koguryo and Sui increased.

In 612 Yangdi of the Sui dynasty invaded Korea with his about 1,300,000 troops and in 645, Li Shimin of Tang (626-649) attacked Korea with its more than 150,000 troops. Their number, strategies and tactics were so far the largest in scale in Chinese history. Koguryo prepared organized resistance to a possible invasion of China. Finally, Koguryo was able to repulse the invaders thanks to its superior leadership, defence strategy, and endurance.

After repeated struggles with the Sui and Tang dynasties of China, Sui was defeated and heavy blows were dealt at the Tang dynasty. At the same time, the state power of Koguryo also weakened.

The long struggle with Sui and Tang China in the 7th century was one of the factors for Koguryo's downfall.

It is true that Koguryo won the struggles with Sui and Tang temporarily. But in the long run, Koguryo was defeated. This is after all due to the question of cultural capacity. If the culture of Sui and Tang was basically the culture of the Han tribe, the culture was built up in China for many thousands of years.

The cultural foundation of Koguryo was not so weak. But, it couldn't match that of China. (To be continued) *(By Li Man Ryol, ex-professor of Sukmyong Women's University–History–, the January issue of monthly "Wolgan Chosun", 1981)*

Stop Nuclear Exports to Korea

Follows an article on nuclear power plant in south Korea carried in Quaker booklet, 1980 edition, published by the American Friends Service Committee based on Philadelphia, the U.S.

South Korea is currently the world's largest market for nuclear power plants. This small country, the size of the state of Indiana, has announced plans to build 44 nuclear power plants in the next 20 years. South Korea's plans must seem a goodsend to US producers who have had zero net sales at home during the past 4 years.

To stop nuclear power in the US, nuclear activists must also stop the export of nuclear plants. The sale of 1 or 2 plants a year to a US dependent country like south Korea, Taiwan or the Philippines, is enough to keep a company like Westinghouse or GE in the nuclear business. These companies may hope that in 10 or 15 years, when anti-nuclear activists have turned to other issues and oil is even more expensive, they can renew sales in the US.

Westinghouse Ballout

A number of US firms have a direct stake in south Korea's nuclear program: Bechtal has engineers and consultants for 5 proposed plants; Burns and Roe with feasibility studies; and ITT with pipes for future plants.

However, Westinghouse has been by far the biggest beneficiary, selling the reactors for 6 out of the 7 plants now underway. The other reactor is Canadian.

In the initial sales, Westinghouse supplied only the reactors, but the October 1979 lucrative contracts included both reactors and generators for its 5th and 6th plants.

Westinghouse would not have been able to make these critical sales without strong US governmental support. Gene Lim, the President of Westinghouse Korea, recently told an Energy Daily reporter that he wants it known that the American Embassy was immensely helpful in supporting Westinghouse's sales efforts for the most recent plants.

This pressure counts not only because south Korea's export-oriented economy is itself dependent on the US market, but also because the US has 40,000 troops in the country and gives millions of dollars of military aid each year.

Most crucial to Westinghouse's sales has been the role of the US government's Export-Import Bank, which has provided greater subsidies for nuclear exports than any other single type of sales. It has financed 40 out of 50 nuclear reactor exports by US companies and all six of Westinghouse's sales to south Korea.

For the construction of Westinghouse's 3rd and 4th plants the Export-Import Bank made direct loans to the government – owned Korea Electric Company of $829.7 million. For the 5th and 6th Westinghouse plants the Export-Import Bank is lending $936.3 million. In addition the bank is guaranteeing a loan of $165.2 million which the Korea Electric Company will use for its first payment to Westinghouse. This is the largest credit in the history of the Export-Import Bank.

Like most other countries, south Korea faces serious energy problems. 55% of its current energy comes from imported oil. But it does have alternatives to reliance on nuclear power: coal reserves, hydro power, solar power, and one of the best coastlines in the world for tidal power.

Westinghouse finds advantages in selling to dictatorial governments. South Korea has kept a tight lid on all forms of protest. The press has been censored and the public is just beginning to learn of the problems of nuclear power.

Opponents of nuclear power in south Korea see 4 major problems. Uppermost is tremendous expense. Each plant, costing over $1 billion, is more expensive than any other single purchase in the country's history. The government is piling debt upon debt, mortgaging Korean's future for generations.

Second, it's unclear how much ordinary Koreans will benefit from the nuclear energy generated. The plants now under construction are located at the southern tip of the country – near Masan, the export zone for foreign investors; near Ulsan, where Gulf Oil and Dow Chemical have plants; near Changwon, south Korea's new military production complex; and near Chinhae, a port being eyed by the US Navy as a possible new US Asian base.

Third is the environmental danger of nuclear power. To date, just one nuclear power plant, Kori 1, has begun operation. Just at the time of the 3 Mile Island accident, this Westinghouse plant was closed because of a malfunctioning cooling system which resulted in contamination of the containment structure. Since then the plant's operation has been suspended several times, closing again in October 1979 for a complete overhaul and safety check.

Nuclear Weapons

Fourth is the danger that nuclear power will lead to nuclear weapons. A 1977 Ford Foundation Study estimates that by the mid-1980's south Korea can build up to 36 plutonium bombs a year, just using the waste from the nuclear reactors operating in the country. The Westinghouse reactors are less than ideal for bomb building, but their fuel rods could be removed prematurely and the plutonium in them could be used to make crude bombs.

South Korea's record is not reassuring. In the early 1970's south Korea decided to build nuclear bombs. This program was not suspended until 1975 when US pressure prevented the purchase of a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant from France.

In March 1979 a member of the Korea Atomic Energy Commission hinted that the country may again try to establish its own reprocessing facility, which would give it access to weapons grade material.

The US has surely set south Korea the worst possible example. In addition to US global overkill, the Pentagon has kept hundreds of nuclear weapons in south Korea itself.

Exclusive Interview with Samir Amin

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr. Samir Amin

Another characteristic of this system was that Africa and Asia were divided into areas of influences by various imperialist powers as colonies and semi-colonies. Those imperialist powers were conflicting and competing among themselves. The last two world wars were results of those conflicts for redistribution of colonies and semi-colonies.

The strategy for national liberation corresponding to that situation was based on the idea of building a united front under the leadership of a strong worker-peasant alliance, assembling all the anti-imperialist strata of the given society. They include the middle classes, petty-bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and even to a certain extent according to the local situation the national bourgeoisie, that is, the class which was stopped in its development by the direct imperialist domination and which was different from comprador bourgeoisie.

Now, this is no longer the case today, thirty-six years after the last world war. Many things of importance have changed, as a result of the victories, even partial, of the national liberation movements which developed throughout the world during the whole period and as a result of the changes in the global situation coming out from the world war. The national liberation movement mobilized all over Asia and Africa the masses of people for its specific purposes, but they were not directed by the worker-peasant alliance except in some exceptional cases, among them China and northern Korea.

Elsewhere, the liberation front was de facto led by the strata of the bourgeoisie, a large spectrum of classes from the local rightwing big bourgeoisie to the left-wing and radicalized petty-bourgeoisie. This was the case, for instance, very obviously, with India with the Congress Party and Egypt with Nasserism and with many other countries in Asia and Africa.

A series of changes, political and social, occurred in those countries. National independence which was acquired was not formal and empty. It corresponded to a change from the old colonial status to a new stage of a national state. This national state has been built on the shift of power from the old feudal and comprador to a new bourgeoisie class. This shift has not necessarily been radical and varies with different countries. Land reforms and other steps have reduced the political and economic power of the old fuedal and landed aristocracy to the benefit of the middle farmers and a new bourgeoisie.

A process was under way of establishing a national financial system, a national currency, some sort of economic policy, to protect local industry and so on, in a way commensurate with a new state. However, the industrialization characteristic of the post-WWII period did not bring about a self-reliant national economy but pushed the economies of new-born states into the international division of labor. They were forced to be based on import substitution and in some cases produce locally-manufactured goods which were previously imported from the imperialist centers. Export orientation was based on cheap labor and cheap and abundant natural resources, of course, a mixture of the two. A case in point is south Korea.

This global process of industrialization took varied forms according to the contents of a new stage and in some cases comprised basically a private national bourgeoisie in such countries as Mexico, Brazil and other Latin American countries. Another case concerns the state-controlled sector which is more important to that process of outlooking industrialization. In all cases, this involved close alliance and cooperation with monopoly capital, namely, multinationals which are providing technology and direct investment. Again south Korea is a most representative illustration.

We are faced with these two questions: Does a new-born state, a new bourgeois state, aim at stages of independent national development which will lead to a fully-developed capitalist state? Or does it aim at stages of development of the imperialist system based on an unequal division of labor? These are very important issues. A proper answer to the first question means an end to the task of national liberation, to be followed by the task of socialist revolution. In case of the second question, the task of national liberation still remains a main task of the revolutionary forces, that is, to liberate their own country and society from imperialist domination.

A lot of illusion has developed during the process of high growth particulary in such countries as south Korea. They are sold as brilliant success stories of development which is supposed to lead to catching up with the advanced countries, higher income and higher living standards. Needless to say, capitalist development is not autarkic. It is an open one linked with the international division of labor. The theory goes that these countries can get access to the international markets and advanced technological knowhow.

Yet, this system has very quickly come to a crisis in the seventies. The import substitution process of development has in many cases reached the ceiling and found no way out, precisely because of the narrowness of the market of the minority which has indeed benefited from that development, whereas a majority has not, with the wages of the workers being kept down and down in some cases and the income of the masses of peasants remaining low.

The export-oriented industry has come to a point where it has come into conflict with the interests of the centers of major capitalist countries. All these developments generated increasing contradictions within the Third World economies – the impoverishment of the masses of the peasantry, the massive rural-urban migration, a sharp rise in unemployment and an aggravating unequal distribution of income. These combine to become explosive, shown in Iran and south Korea.

This gives me a very important concept of compradorization. This means industrial bourgeoisie is not national bourgeoisie, though there was a tendency to consider national and comprador bourgeoisie in a static way as two sectors of bourgeoisie, for example, as industrialists and traders. This was partly true before the last two wars. Today, this is not true because industrial bougeoisie became a subordinated part of the global imperialist system.

A large part of the surplus value extracted from the people, i.e., the workers and peasants, are transferred to monopoly capital dominating the whole system. The trick is to maintain low wages and low income. This transfer is open or hidden. Open indicates direct property of monopoly capital and hidden indicates local property, whether it be private or public, through a built-in price system which is a basis of an unequal exchange between those dominated and the center of domination.

Hence this bourgeoisie is less and less national as it grows and comes to play the same role of old comprador capital bourgeoisie against the interests of its own people, workers and peasants. More and more it subjugates them, more and more it is subjugated by monopoly capital. This is the process of compradorization. This is the point which I am making strongly. Those compradorized bourgeois states are no longer national states.

Q: What are the prospects of the economies you have just discussed?

A: They have very limited prospects. The process of high growth was once described as continuous and would lead to catching up with the developed countries. This is nonsense. Experience has eloquently shown that the built-in contradictions become explosive and local bourgeoisie is bound to seek for an alliance and open support of the imperialists who are responsible for exploitation of its own people. Here I must discuss the role of a local state.

Usually, Third World states are called nation states. They reflect local ruling interests in alliance with imperialism. In some cases, they are in conflict with imperialism, yet secondary to those major conflicts among imperialist powers. They have a certain amount of independence. Otherwise, we cannot understand neutrality, non-alignment, the Afro-Asian Organization, the Bandung Conference and other phenomena in international political life.

Yet, there are puppet governments. Again south Korea is a typical case in point. When and why? They are puppet governments precisely when opposition of the masses of people, workers and peasants, to this type of capitalism dependent, biased and distorted in development, are so strong that the local ruling bourgeoisie is unable to rule directly and bound to call in imperialism constantly.

This is the case with south Korea from the beginning. Precisely because of the Korean national liberation movement and the development of socialism in north Korea, rooted deep in the long years of historical struggles of the Korean people against the Japanese, it was not the American or Russian army that liberated Korea in August, 1945. It was the Korean people who liberated themselves. Immediately after the liberation, they took advantage of the situation and established people's committees throughout Korea, a nucleus of a state, reflecting the stage of the popular movement for liberation. They comprised the nucleus of the workers' and peasants' power to liberate the country. These committees were able to develop the cause of national liberation and build socialism in the northern half.

But in southern Korea, because of such pressures, American imperialism was forced to establish from the beginning a complete puppet regime. The Syngman Rhee regime was a first typical instance. U.S. imperialism was unable to establish a strong local ruling group to rule indirectly in other parts of the Third World countries because of strong worker-peasant consciousness and opposition to capitalism.

This has continued after the fall of Syngman Rhee. The regime of Pak Jung Hi was also a puppet regime. After the fall of Pak, there developed a tendency to establish a national bourgeois system, democratic, independent and capitalistic. This attempt failed. The regime of Gen. Chon Du Hwan stands in its way. It is again a puppet regime.

What changed as regards imperialist power? We were aware of the imperialist system divided into a number of conflicting and competing metropolises, each having its own sphere of influence and colonies. Then as a result of WWII, the United States emerged a leading power of the global imperialist system. Other imperial powers, Japan and West European countries, were reduced to second ranks and subordinated to the U.S. global domination. All these contributed to the acceleration of the end of old direct colonialism and opened the way to new neo-colonialism and global monopoly capitalist system with the predominance of U.S. capital. This applies to south Korea in particular.

The case of U.S. imperialism was direct domination at that time of Japan through occupation which had limited economic, political and military independence. South Korea was put directly under the U.S. rule. Syngman Rhee was a puppet of U.S. monopoly capital. Gradually since, this has changed also as other imperialism emerged progressively and built more competitive economies vis-a-vis the American economy. Japan managed to build a strong economy competing on favorable terms with the U.S. Needless to say, this process remains yet to be completed. In many aspects, say, particularly, political, military, junior imperialisms are under the umbrella of the United States. But they have got new levels of independence and new conflicts built up within imperial centers which are being reflected in local states in the Third World and other regions. South Korea is a scene of such rivalry. Japan has knowledge about it, is in its vicinty, and has capacity to take over it. The Japanese have gradually come back to south Korea through their own monopolies, putting out a host of subcontracting enterprises and factories. They are challenging the American presence there.

We must not forget that the men like Pak Jung Hi was an officer in the defunct imperial army of Japan. What distinguished Pak from the previous dictator was that Japanese monopoly capital interests became more visible under his rule than the regime of Syngman Rhee, a purely American agent. Perhaps this continues with Gen. Chon Du Hwan.

The present resistance of the south Korean people to this puppet regime is a normal and logical consequence of the type of comprador development. Compradorization is very typical of the process of industrialization in south Korea. Monopoly capital benefits from the exploitation of its own people – low wages and low income for the peasants – of the small capitalist activities are part of the surplus produced to the benefit of monopoly capital through unequal taxation and unequal credit policy, overexploiting the national economy – this is a typical comprador development.

Q: What is your comment on socialist economic achievements in the DPRK?

A: The example of north Korea is particularly significant because it is a very successful case in building a national economy under the leadership of the worker-peasant alliance. It opens a wide avenue to the building of socialism, a national auto-centered socialist economy, delinked from the international division of labor.

I am not against the concept of international division of labor within the framework of a worldwide socialist system. Yet, at present, this is not ready. This is very fundamental to the peoples of Asia and Africa because of their long years of colonization. During that period, they were deprived ideologically and politically of confidence in themselves and capacity for establishing a complete national state and economy. For them, the Korean experience is very important until the worldwide socialist system is built.

In order to create conditions for it, we need long periods of building national economies of socialist type as complete and autonomous as possible. This is very important politically, economically, culturally, ideologically and militarily.

Q: What will be the role of the labor movement in years to come regarding south Korea?

A: The new wave of resistance of the south Korean people to the local puppet regime catapults them in the vanguard of the peoples of the Third World for national liberation. This movement is far more advanced than the previous one after the fall of Pak Jung Hi.

After the fall of Pak, the uprising of the south Korean people for democracy was still affected by illusions about the possibility of building a bourgeois state. Yet, this uprising failed, followed by the establishment of a dictatorial puppet regime of Gen. Chon.

Now, the new resistance movement is characterized by much more input of labor movement. The labor movement has increased tremendously in south Korea during the last period in review. The process of even outward-looking industrialization has created within twenty and thirty years the working class, a very new class, which emerges from the massive rural-urban migration and has acquired very quickly class consciousness and consciousness of its role in the national-liberation struggle.

Additionally, this labor movement is closely connected with the peasant movement since it is coming from the rural areas. This labor movement claims a much greater role in the new series of popular resistance, a considerable progress over the previous experience.

Very few Third World countries have conditions as ripe as those in south Korea for the victory of such movement.

Q: What is your response to the south Korean minister of education who attacked you in a series of articles appearing in major south Korean dailies in February last in connection with your influence on the south Korean students and intelligentsia.

A: It is a great honor for me to be attacked by the south Korean ruling circles.

The south Korean students and intellectuals should read critically my works.

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